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Atlantic Institute

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THE FUTURE OF THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

For perhaps the first time in history we are witnessing tremendous changes in the very basis of life on our planet. A world technological revolution of vast dimensions is producing in its wake revolutionary changes in modes of life for hundreds of millions who were condemned before to early death and constant misery. Today, it is not idle speculation to suppose that within the lifespan of contemporary individuals, hunger, disease, and ignorance may in large measure be eliminated from the face of our earth.

We know today that technically these miraculous changes can be wrought, but in large measure only at the cost of sizeable transformations in ways of thinking and acting which we have come to regard as traditional or even essential. New and advanced forms of political organization and cooperation reflecting the interdependence of men everywhere, will be essential. The deep-seated conflicts between nation-states and--even more important today--between diametrically-opposed power-systems based on ideology must be greatly diminished and ultimately rendered as anachronistic as the wars of religion. To accomplish such vast transformations, man's powers of tolerance, perseverance, vision, and innovation must be exercised and developed as never before.

The alternative is not merely great opportunity lost, it is Armageddon: a world convulsion which could reduce existing

civilization overnight to unprecedented forms of rubble on an unprecedented scale.

Man today has no choice but to take a great step forward to real peace and a freer, fuller life, under law.

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These beliefs are held with profound conviction by a group of men and women who joined together recently to begin the work of an Atlantic Institute. Together, with the aid of experts and experienced men of affairs from many countries, they have begun to explore some of the burning problems of our time. Insofar as possible, they hope to mobilize the vast intellectual resources of the West in a concerted attack upon those basic issues whose resolution will decide war or peace, prosperity or penury, ignorance or enlightenment for the human race in the generations to come. The Atlantic Institute is dedicated to purposeful action, not simply reaction. Its sponsors believe that the West must take the initiative in bold and imaginative ways, on a vast scale, and they believe that the Institute can help.

The Governors of the Atlantic Institute are convinced that the great stores of knowledge and experience outside the official machines of government must be put to use in ways which can directly affect the formation of vital public policy.

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They believe too that the nations and peoples of the Atlantic Community have a unique and important responsibility in contemporary world affairs. In the countries of North America and Western Europe are concentrated the most diversified, the richest, and the most advanced economies in the world. In these countries too are found some of the most representative and responsible systems of government which men have been able to devise.

Finally, it is in the north Atlantic area that the most far-reaching experiments in international cooperation and in some cases pooling of national sovereignties are taking place. Here were born, in 15 short years, such exciting new ventures as the OEEC, NATO, the European Communities, and the OECD.

For all these reasons, the Institute's Governors believe that if the world is to move out of the shadow of fear and misery and into an era of security and well-being, the nations of the Atlantic Community will have to exert a powerful initiative and a sustained effort of unprecedented magnitude. Our wealth and our capacity for cooperation demand that we accept this challenge. We have abundant human and material resources to do the job; we must only make up our minds where we are heading.

To try to shed the light of known fact on the nature and full magnitude of the contemporary challenge; to juxtapose the great issues of our time within a framework which relates the issues directly to the forces which can resolve them; to

explore the true meaning of interdependence within the Atlantic Community and in the entire world; and finally to suggest some of the ways and means by which a concerted and potentially successful attack can be made on the roadblocks in the way of progress toward freedom, prosperity, and peace, the Governors of the Atlantic Institute have sponsored a series of studies and public reports, of which this is the first.

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"The Future of the Atlantic Community" is a ten-year projection of problems and potentialities in the Atlantic area. It seeks in particular to define the major issues which our peoples will face in the decade to come, believing that such definition may contribute to the formation of that democratic consensus which must precede any meaningful solutions.

This brief study also seeks to thrust before governments and publics a series of goals which the Governors of the Atlantic Institute believe should be embraced and vigorously pursued with the least possible delay by the peoples and governments around the Atlantic rim. We submit that without a general public debate on long-range purposes, embracing the whole of the north Atlantic areas, we shall not be able as peoples or as governments, to do the necessary.

It is not possible in a document of such limited dimensions to propose solutions for the problems outlined. This is not

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our immediate purpose. Over a period of time, however, the Institute intends to issue a series of public reports, each of which will analyze in detail a major issue facing the Atlantic Community. With the aid of the most expert knowledge available, the Institute will explore alternative ways in which these issues might be approached and ultimately resolved.

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This document is addressed to -

- the governments of the Atlantic Community, in the hope that it will help them in some degree to clarify the great problems with which they must deal;

- the leaders of the new multinational bodies who by their daily actions are building the Atlantic Community;

- the great public interest groups, characteristic of democratic life in the West, whose decisions and actions also affect the course of international affairs. These include the industrial federations, the trade unions, the universities, the instruments of mass communication, and the political parties, to mention but a few;

- the publics of the free world, whose sustained and informed support is essential if authorities are to make responsible decisions.

In offering their views, the Governors of the Atlantic

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Institute welcome the advice and criticism of all thoughtful persons who share their hope for a better world.

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Director-General of the
Atlantic Institute

GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We thank the men and women in ____ countries who have contributed to the marshalling of fact and expert opinion without which this study could never have been made. Thanks to the sense of "community responsibility" of these experts--some from the top echelons of the academic world, others from leading positions in the world of affairs--we have been able to draw on an unusual array of talent. Without placing any responsibility for our conclusions on these generous associates, we should like to list them below, in gratitude for their advice and suggestions.

(List of those consulted on Study)

CHAPTER II

THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY SINCE 1945

(NOTE: The larger part of this Chapter remains to be written. It will be essentially a brief account of how the Allied powers won the Second World War, only to face a reconstituted conflict with Russia in the 40's and 50's. Events to be highlighted: formation of the UN; the Russian retreat from Iran; US aid to Greece and Turkey; the Marshall Plan and OEEC; the Czechoslovak coup; formation of Western Union and NATO; the drive for European unity; the creation of the OECD; and the new pressures on NATO. The chapter will conclude with the following text, taken substantially from Dr. Birrenbach's memorandum.)

The world political situation has changed substantially since 1945. This historical development, out of which a compelling need for Atlantic unity has become evident, is characterized by the following principal features:

1. The constellation of power in the world is moving from an era of bipolarity to one of multipolarity. (We cite such phenomena as the renaissance of Western Europe; the rise of China and India, and the increasing political importance of the so-called "uncommitted" nations.)

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2. The development of military technology has led to a world nuclear stalemate, however, precarious, in which the United States is directly vulnerable. The consequent gap in conventional forces, if Soviet superiority is to be counterbalanced, must be filled essentially by the European members of NATO. They have thus become, for the first time in NATO history, a major power factor in the Atlantic defense system.
3. The economic position of the United States, dominant as it still may be, has lost relative importance by comparison with those of the Soviet Union and Western Europe. In addition, the U.S. economy has grown more vulnerable to international forces.
4. The demand for aid to the developing countries has attained a degree of urgency which could not have been foreseen a few short years ago. In part, this urgency stems from the heightened stakes of "competitive co-existence". Fundamentally, however, it is a product of our recent experience in giving aid, which has taught us that the need is of such massive dimensions that only a concerted effort by the giving nations can hope to suffice.
5. The existing international monetary system appears to be inadequate, as it assigns to the hitherto leading currencies of the West (Dollar and Pound Sterling)

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roles which, in view of the ever-increasing volume of world trade and the inadequate production of gold, exceed the powers of those currencies and unduly limit the freedom of action of the countries concerned.

These developments have been decisive in compelling the Atlantic nations to face a cardinal fact: Some important tasks which they have traditionally accomplished separately must now be undertaken in common.

of the requirements of world-wide interdependence must become the intellectual property of all.

8. Communities, whether at the village level or on a multinational scale, require institutions. These grow or they atrophy; institutionally, communities never stand still. Over the next decade, the political, economic, and social institutions of the Atlantic Community must undergo a considerable metamorphosis, yet the needed changes will by no means come about inevitably. They must be willed and planned. The task of community building - conferring new functions on existing institutions and constructing new institutions where needed - must surely preoccupy the Atlantic powers in the years to come.

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The foregoing brief catalog constitutes a prescription for change, in some cases major change. Our lives have already been subjected to quite amazing adjustments resulting from the burgeoning of technology and its social ramifications. Can we adapt our economic and political structures fully to these new conditions? On the West's ability to adapt old ways and adopt new ones may well depend its survival as a civilization.

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There may never before have been a time when men were called upon as they are today to break through the prison walls of their own parochialisms and fashion wholly new ways of life and thought based on a great expansion of their loyalties.

CHAPTER III

THE TASKS AHEAD

Can a large number of nations, accustomed to exercising their national prerogatives and more or less deciding their own destinies, develop the disciplines and patterns of cooperation which alone will insure their survival and - even more important - provide an effective framework for the great effort required if Western civilization is finally to surge forward in true fulfillment of its centuries-old promise? The next decade is one of historic decision for the Atlantic Community, as for all mankind. Tremendous energies have been loosed; we must harness them for good or perish.

It is easy to mouth the by-word, "Cooperation", but precisely how must we learn to cooperate? A proper economy of force and a respect for our democratic principles requires that we do together those things which we can no longer do separately. Before we explore each of these "areas of interdependence" in detail in our subsequent chapters, let us look at them all together. Here are the tasks which we believe must be accomplished in common by the Atlantic powers, if they are to be accomplished with any hope of success over the next decade.

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1. We must act together to preserve the common values in which we believe. To mount an effective common defense, we must be ready to make sacrifices and combinations of effort to the full extent required.
2. Major aspects of our national economic policies must be coordinated, in some cases even merged. Deliberately but decisively, we must lower the barriers to the movement of men, capital, goods, and ideas between our nations. We must agree on concerted and sometimes joint measures to control inflation and at the same time promote vigorous economic growth. We must find ways to harmonize our respective financial and monetary policies and their application.
3. The responsibility of the entire Atlantic Community for a concentrated and coordinated program of aid to lesser-developed countries must be translated into jointly-planned and fairly-shared programs which will increase the flow of development capital from the industrialized "North" to the still impoverished "South", safeguard the stability and encourage the growth of Western markets for the products of developing countries, and, above all, provide the emergent nations with the technical, educational, and cultural assistance they must have.

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4. An equitable system must be devised for sharing the burdens of economic growth, of aid to lesser-developed countries, and of common defense.
5. Political cooperation must be increased and developed so that eventually no Atlantic nation will undertake a separate foreign policy initiative affecting its partners' vital interests without the full accord and support of the Community. The need for new Atlantic political forms must be studied and new foundations laid in this decade. The voice of the people, through bodies of an inter-parliamentary character, must be increasingly heard in Atlantic councils. Finally, the theory and practice of democracy must everywhere be strengthened.
6. Just as in the economic field, the social development of the Atlantic nations must be opened to the greatest possible exchange of ideas, techniques, and men. The richness of Western civilization lies partly in its diversity; but the innovating genius of one nation or group should be freely transferable and adaptable elsewhere if thereby the human condition can be elevated.
7. New loyalties and new understandings must permeate the consciousness of our peoples. An education for international responsibility - by conventional means and by new means if necessary - must be accelerated. A recognition

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A P P E N D I X

Statement

Moral and Spiritual Values of Atlantic Community

1. The Atlantic Congress states that, in spite of differences in their cultural, political and spiritual outlook, the member countries of the Community must realize that they form a moral unity which expresses itself through common principles.
2. Respect for human dignity is the inalienable basis of civilization. The purpose of a political and economic society is to create conditions enabling every human being freely to fulfil his destiny.
3. The guarantee of this dignity is, first, the recognition of objective spiritual values which cannot be altered by any human agency but are the expression of a natural or transcendent law governing communities and individuals alike.
4. Among the fundamental rights which every authority must recognize and guarantee and which are recognized in the United Nations Charter and in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights the following should be specially mentioned:
 - a) The right to life; the worth of the human being - in short, respect for the sanctity of human life.
 - b) The right to an inviolate personal life.
 - c) Freedom of speech, conscience, opinion, belief, religion and association.
 - d) The right of every man to work and to receive his just reward.
 - e) The right of the family to stability and the right of parents over their children and their education.

5. The Atlantic Community recognizes that political and economic society is based indissolubly on the dual principle of individual liberty and the common good. It deplores selfish individualism as much as any form of totalitarianism. It is, moreover, open to all political and economic regimes which respect its basic principles.
6. The safeguards of both rights and duties of individuals and peoples must be constitutionally expressed. The Law is the essential instrument through which principles of civilization are put into practice.
7. Respect due to every human being implies the duty to bring material and spiritual well-being progressively within the reach of all at both national and international levels.
8. Peace and unity among all men with justice and freedom are the highest expression of the application of those principles which the Community seeks to promote.
9. Civilization is the common product of all peoples. In particular, Asia, Africa, and Oceania have a part to play side by side with the Western peoples. It is important to realize that the common values of civilization are differently expressed by different peoples according to their various traditions.
10. At a time when the future of the world is at stake, when the enslaved peoples are looking for hope, when the peoples of Africa, Asia and Oceania have a decisive choice before them, the Atlantic Community must put forward a constructive

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concept of civilization of the future, which is capable of winning everyone's support, and must demonstrate by its actions that it is determined to promote that idea.

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- From the Report of the Atlantic Spiritual and Cultural Committee.
(Committee A)
- Atlantic Congress as adopted by the Congress at the Plenary Session on June 9, 1959 - London -